SPEECH

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HENRY L. CLINTON,

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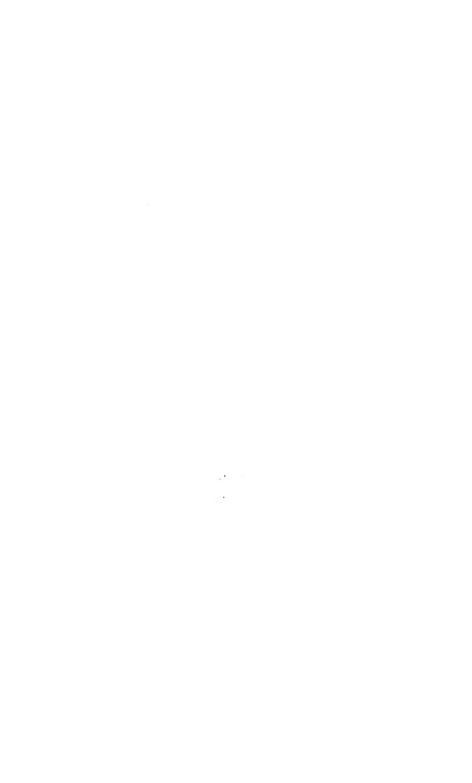
Democratic Republican General Committee

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

SEPTEMBOR 5th, 1878,

AT TAMINANY HALL.

- IMPORTANCE OF THE STATES AS DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, AND A SEMICERATE UNITED STATES SENGIOUS.
- TAMBLANY HALL TO BRADBAR OF DEMOCRACY



ADDRESS

OF

HENRY L. CLINTON,

CHAIRMAN OF THE

Democratic Republican General Committee

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

DELIVERED AT TAMMANY HALL, September 5th, 1878.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE:

As the assembling of this Committee is the opening of the Fall campaign, I have thought it not inappropriate to the occasion to submit some views touching the present condition of political affairs. The ensuing election, in its far reaching consequences, is scarcely second in importance to any held within the recollection of any now present.

AMPORTANCE OF ELECTING A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, AND A DEMOCRATIC UNITED STATES SEXATOR.

A new Congress is to be elected; a body that may have to decide the most momentons question which can ever arise in our national affairs, namely: who shall be President of the United States. Such will be the grave responsibility cast upon the next Congress in the event of no election by the people in 1880. Questions of the highest importance, deeply affecting the interests and prospects of the American people must be

passed upon by the Congress so soon to be elected. It must be decided at the polls, in November, whether the next House of Representatives will have such a decided Democratic majority as to ensure a continuance of the system of retrenchment and reform, which has characterized the Democratic party there from the first session, after it obtained ascendancy, when it reduced our national expenditures over thirty millions of dollars per annum. With a Republican Schafe and a Republican President, the only wonder is, that a Democratic Congress has acheived so much in favor of retrenchment and good government.

In former times the United States Senate was regarded as the most able, dignified and important legislative body in the world. The extent to which it has depreciated in public esteem, because its roll of membership contained so many Republican carpet-baggers and spoils men, I need not expatiate upon at this time. The reign of earpet-baggers at the South was as destructive as the plague at this time, depopulating many of her fairest and most important cities. Now that the United States Senate is so nearly purged of its worst elements, the coming elections must determine whether the Empire State, with her five millions of population, her great industries, her immense enterprises, her vast business interests, extending over every state of our Union, shall be represented in the United States Senate by two sterling Democrats, whose votes on all important measures will represent the views of the great majority of her people; or whether we are to have in the future cas at present) one Republican and one Democratic Senator, the one offsetting the other, so that, to all intents and purposes, our great State will not be represented at all in that illustrious body.

In order to secure the election of a Democratic United States Senator it is necessary that we have a large majority in the Assembly. With a view to the election of a Republican United States Senator in 1879, the Republicans, last Fall, elected a decided majority of the members of the present Senate.

IMPORTANCE OF HARMONY.

If Democras are in curnest, and desire to overcome this majorny on joint billow it billowes these to see to it that not so much as one Assembly Discher he lest to the Democratic party by reason of feat's or quarrel or differences of any kind. Every Democrat Coughour the Line should, by all honest and Conjugat he by this, work as earlier and are assess if the entire result separated apenalis individual evertions. The loss of a single Democratic vot any loser of embly District. For the want of the additional Posternie in embiguiants vote the Legislature, on joint balsot, may 6.31 to cheef a Democratic United St. . . Sounder. No the available of the consequences which may low from the egathy or glad of duty on the part of a single Panoeratie voter. Non como years since a Democratic Governor was decied in one " and Lestern States by a majority of one. The Dischard Countission by a majority of one, in effect, decided that the present he for bincombent of the Presidential of a find a real of yet one clee and vote. It every Democratic course and bine it as though his vote would result has as jord violence in favor of every Democratic candidate for when he costs a bulb it. The viscost he accomentars interests at and, in the coorings beginn, I hope I show that that all Decrees, in every pare of the S. I., will head up divisions I's Demonstra party send or all with the people, is so powerful in an days, so stone in the justice of its cause, that is ear not be begin by its legithrate and machen for, the Repubhenry party. The orly question is whether the Democratic parts will be gaing of the ongo the colly the downwright insmitty of 1 feet it is the little trans with reasons as inlet; how reach more worthly the committee for Dear crists to act harmon-Lead of occupation, the provided winner in the election in were they over the profile and one of a party or faction or ctique was gailty of precisional season for surrespoils.

It is the percent with the exclusive interfact the methalities squarely in the face. Two years upon 4,284,265 citizens east their ballots in favor of the Danoccutic nominees for President

and Vic - President. Our candidates were elected. They had not only a large majority of the popular, but of the Electoral vote. By the neferious conduct of Returning Boards, and for the reason that a majority of the Electoral Commission, shut their eyes to actual facts, and would not permit the truth to be proved, the great majority of the people of the United States who had lawfully elected a President and a Vice-President, were cheated out of their choice, and, to all intents and purposes, robbed of the right of suffrage. The rights of the majority were awarded to the minority. Those who brought about this result acted upon the same principle which governed Tweed and his confederates in crime, in the palmy days of repeating, ballot-box stuffing and false counting. When other attempts at fræd failed, they gave the votes of the victorious candidate to his opponent who had been defeated at the polls, and thereupon certified that he had been elected.

For the last four or five years the Democrats have elected their state fielet by a large majority. Yet, with a single exception, the Republicans have had a majority in the Assembly. In 1872 the Republicans carried this State by a majority of 53,524. In 1874 a great Democratic tidal wave swept over the whole country. In the Fall election of that year the Democratic majority in this State was 50,317. The Democratic majority outside of the City of New York was 7,789. The consequence was that, in the year 1871, the Democrats elected a decided anajority of the members of the Assembly. That victory at the polls resulted not only in the election of our entire state ticket, but it enabled Democratic Assemblymen, on joint ballot, to vote against the nomince of a Republican Senate for United States Senator, and to send to the United States Senate the distinguished Democrat who, two years before, was our candidate for Governor. Had the election for United States Senator occurred in any other year, this great State, notwithstanding a large majority of her citizens vote the Democratic ticket, would be at the present time misrepresented in the Senate of the United States by two Republicans.

TAMMANY HALL THE GIBRALTER OF DEMOCRACY.

In 1876, although the Democracy of the city did far better than in 1874, yet outside of New York the Republican majority was 21,227. The New York Democracy (there being no other than the Tammany Hall organization), fought the battle of the Democratic party of the State and of the Union, and won the most splendid victory ever recorded in the political annals of this country. The Democracy of this city east 112,530 votes for the Democratic ticket. Tammany Hall was then, and is now, the Gibralter of Democracy. Although outside of New York Democrats were vigilent, active and energetic, yet the comparative vote of the Republicans, was so much larger than in 1874, that the fate of the State and National ticket hung upon the vote of this city. The Democracy here had to overcome the Republican majority above referred to, of 21,227. We advanced on our comparative vote of two years before. We gave the Democratic ticket the magnificent, the unprecedented, majority of 53,969. Yet, although we advanced so largely on the comparative vote of 1874, the Democracy outside of this city receded to such an extent that the Democratic party lost the fruits of that victory, so far as the Legislature was concerned. With a Democratic majority in this city of over 50,000, the Republicans elected a majority of Assemblymen. So long as the present iniquitous appointment exists, though all the citizens of New York, entitled to the right of suffrage, should vote the Democratic ticket, but little headway would thereby be made towards electing a majority of members of the Assembly. New York will do all in her power, but she cannot do everything. If our fellow-Democrats throughout the State will second the offorts of New York City, and with the skill, energy and fidelity that characterized their efforts in 1874, organize in their respective counties, cities, towns and villages, they will insure a triumph to the Democratic party, that will result in giving to our distinguished Senator, Francis Kerman, a colleague in the United States Senate, of whom the Empire State will have reason to be proud. For three successive years the Republican majority

in the State Legislature, has deliberately and wantonly, in defiance of the most peremptory mandates of the Constitution, refused to apportion the representation of the people of the State, in accordance with the census. In this way the Republican party has maintained its ascendency in both branches of the Legislature. Only once since 1870, have the Democrats had a majority in the Assembly. Under a fair apportionment, made in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, the Democratic party would have no difficulty in electing a majority of members of the Assembly and Senate. If this year, despite the present iniquitous apportionment, we carry a large majority of the Assembly Districts, we may be able (although there be a Republican Senate) to pass an Apportionment Bill which a Democratic governor can conscientiously sign.

THE COURSE OF THE TAMMANY AND THE ANTI-TAMMANY DEMOCRATS DURING THE YEARS 1873, 1874, 1875 AND 1876, REVIEWED.

The party, in this City, is so large that whatever course is taken by the regular Democratic organization, there will be many Democrats outside who will find fault. To please all is impossible. Some who claim to be Democrats carp at this this, the regular - the only regular-Democratic organization in this City. They profess to doubt our good faith; they see fit to question our devotion to the cause of Democracy and good government. If the veil of oblivion could be drawn over the past, and loud-mouthed professions, now made for the purpose of riding into office and of obtaining political patronage, were the sole tests of devotion to the Democratic party, it would not be wise to attempt to define or limit the merit which would be ascribed to them. It seems to me that the fairer way would be to test the sincerity of our professions and those of our opponents by the past. What is our record? What record have they made for themselves? I would not forget the past. would raise the curtain high, burn on the lights, concentrate public attention upon what this organization has accomplished, as well as what its opponents have done and attempted to do since the

overthrow of the Tweed Ring. In 1872 William F, Havemeyer, the Republican candidate, was elected Mayor. His term of office commenced on the first of January following. In 1873 the Anti-Tammany Democrats organized. During the Fall campaign their organization joined the Republican party and divided nominations with them. The combination was ignominiously defeated by Tammany Hall. In 1874 this organization triumphantly elected its municipal ticket. The Anti-Tammany Democrats did not unite with the Republic inst hat year, simply because the Republican party would have nothing to do with them. The following year our Anti-Tammany opponents made common cause with the Republicans. The consequence was, the Republican party, aided by its Anti-Tammany allies, secured a great victory. A Republican District Attorney, a Republican Judge, and a Republican Surrogate were elected. In the following year this organization, in a spirit of great liberality and magnanimity, consented that a portion of the Anti-Tammany delegates should sit in the State Convention and have a representation on the State Committee. We offered to divide nominations for municipal offices with them if they would name for our consideration fit and proper candidates. They failed to agree among themselves, and finally gave us to understand that they would support our entire ticket on condition that it should contain the name of no Anti-Tammany man. We complied with their wishes and nominated none but Tammany Hall Democrats. Of course our ticket was elected by an overwhelming majority.

IN 1877 THE ANTI-TAMMANY DEMOCRATS, TO ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, MERGED THEIR ORGANIZATION IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The next year (1877) the Anti-Tammany Democrats, while the Legislature was in session, made no secret of their hostility to the Democratic party in this City and in this State. The Democratic members of the Assembly and of the Senate almost manimously voted against certain Bills relating to this City. which were alike unconstitutional and destructive of its best interests. These Bills were made party measures. The Democratic party was ranged on one side and the Republican party upon the other. A Democratic Governor acted with his party and vecocid these Bills. The so-called Anti-Tammany Democrats made haste early in the contest to range themselves on the side of the Republican party. Later in the year they organized principally on the basis of opposition to Governor Robinson. For his Democratic and statesmanlike course in respect to these Bills, they denounced him in numerous act terms.

IN 1877, OPPOSITION TO GOVERNOR ROBINSON AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY 'N THE STATE, AS REPRESENTED IN THE LEGISLATURE, THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-TAMMANY ORGANIZATION.

Last year there were two so-called Anti-Tanmany Demoeratic organizations—the so-called Independent Democracy, and the so-called County Democracy. About the last of June or the 1st of July, 1877, the so-called Independent Democracy professed to organize, and issued an official address stating the basis of their organization. The following is an extract from that address:

"To the Indianal Norman Dimocracy of the Crix of Niw York."

The veloes of the Tammany Governor Liwius Robinson, when the cause and the purpose thereof appear, may well startle the friends of Democratic Government, and should drive into active concerted goorf all who value the principles of tree government, all who respect honesty in public and in provide her."

After referring to the vetoes of Govervor Robinson the address continued as follows:

"Not setisfied with showing his subscripting in Albany, the Governor of the Empire State, maniediately after doing Tammany's bidding by refusing to approve the Omnibus Bul, and after a contest between the friends and force of reform almost unprecedented, comes to New York to receive and does receive publicly the thanks of John Kedy and his followers for what he did or neglected to do. And this is the result of the pledges made at our last State and National Conventions. This is the manner in which the promises of

the platform accepted by our candidates for the chief executive offices of the State and Nation have been kept. Reform has given place to trickery and bargains, and the fair promises of the past are forgotten in the race for the spoils of the future."

The other organization which placed itself in direct opposition to the Democratic party in this City and in this State was the so-called New York County Democracy, which according to the New York Times of September 11, 1877, organized on the previous day. That paper says:

"The recent elected delegates to form the Anti-Tanmany County Convention for the present year met last evening in the main hall of Cooper Institute. The Committee is composed of 530 delegates, elected in pursuance of a call of the old Executive Committee, and is to last until next fall, unless it should be determined to elect a new Committee early in 1878. Emanuel B. Hart, Chairman of the Executive Committee, called the meeting to order, and Jra Shafer was chosen Chairman pro tem.

"On Mr. Shafer taking the chair he was received with great applause. Among other things Mr. Shafer said: Tammany Hall pretends to be the friend of Governor Robinson, and in favor of reform measures, and yet it opposed his nomination, but succeeded in obtaining his veto of bills looking to reform measures, and then he belittled himself by coming down to New York and accepting a reception from the corrupt Tammany leaders.

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"The Anti-Tamman, organization must see to it that not a Tammany Senator or Assemblyman shall be elected from this City. They could do it, and he would rather, in order to see this done, that any one short of Satan himself, should be elected to the Legislature instead of a Tammany man."

If the spirit of this address had been carried out, all or nearly all elected to the Assembly and to the Senate would have been Republicans, as Tammany Hall was the only Democratic organization in this City. In this address Mr. Shafer further said:

"If any unbroken delegation was sent to Albany opposed to Tummany Hall Governor Robinson would not dare veto any reform measure that they might support, and it was necessary to show him that Tammany did not rule this City. Anti Tammany men, Independent Democrats, Republicans, Bread Winners and every such organization should combine again to the common enemy and roll upa majority of 50,000, and then John Kelly would ay as he said on a memorable occasion before, 'I have tried to give you a good government but you would not have it. ?

Among the resolutions read and unanimously adopted, were the following:

"Whereas, the Tanmany Hall organization is objectionable to the "Democracy of this City for the following reasons.

Fourth. Pretending to speak for the Desocracy of the City of New York, it uses its influence with a Democratic Governor, and Democratic members of the Legislature, to defeat all legislations tending to lessen the burdens of the people, by reducing the compensation and the number of our public servants."

Another resolution proceeded to state, that the friends of that organization deserved great credit for their "untireing exertions, in securing the passage through the legislature of the several reform measures" for New York City. This refers to the bills which Govenor Robinson vetoed.

Another resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That the Tamecany Hall organization is a supervised on the Governor to veto these salutary measures, thus preventing a large reduction of the tax levy of this year."

The Republican platform adopted at Rochester, September 26, 1877, stated as follows:

In the affairs of our great State, always vital to the people, and at this time of paramount importance, we declare the Republican party the only hope of thorough reform and frugal government, and arraign the Democratic party for false prefenses, for perpetuating existing abuses, and for slavish subscribence to the most corrupt and dangerous influences. In support of this declaration we appeal to these facts:

That in the last Legislature the Republican majority passed two constitutional amendments, and other important measures of municipal retrenchment and reform, reducing salaries, abolishing sinecures, simplifying the administration, and affecting an annual saving of hundreds of thousands of dollars, every one of which measures was resisted by the Democratic minority, and vetoed by the Democratic Executive at the beliest of Tamuenay Hall, thus willfully continuing oppressive abuses of local administration."

The so-called reform measures referred to in in Mr. Shafer's address, and in the platform of the Republican convention at Rochester, were measures which were opposed by the Democratic party in both houses of the Legislature. In the Assembly, with one exception, every Democrat voted against these measures, and every Republican for them. The only Senators professing to be Democrats who voted for these bills, were Senators Morrisey and Bixby. All the other Democratic Senators voted against them.

IN 1877, THE ANTI-TAMMANY ORGANIZATIONS COMBINED WITH THE REPUBLICANS TO ELECT REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLYMEN AND REPUBLICAN SENATORS. TO ELECT A REPUBLICAN UNITED STATES SENATOR TO PREVENT A JUST APPORTIONMENT BILL, AND TO DISPRANCHISE TWO-THIRDS OF THE DEMOCRATIC VOTERS IN THE CITIES OF THIS STATE.

In previous years it was pretended that the anti-Tammany and Republican combination related only to municipal affairs. But less year the Ami-Lemma, y Democrats threw off the mask and voted for Republic has see only for municipal officers but for the Assembly and because from Republicons and Ami-Tammany Demograts by that one delect. There was no distinction between an Ami-Tarana sy Democratian is, Republican; "they twain were on " To Vati-Pammany Democrats did their utmost to elect high area Sate Senators, to the end that they might vote for a Repositional United Scales Senator. Had they not joined the Reparacon purry last hall, and by announcing their intention to vote directly for Republican Assemblymen and Republican Stuators, stimulated the Republican party throughout the San Aspecia and maisual exertions, and thus exerted a discourte by and demonstring instance among Democrats outside of the clay of Acad York, it is quite probable that there would have been a Democracle majority in both branches of the Legislature. We should have lad a Democratic Senate

to take part the next session in the election of a United States Senator. Then a just and righteous Apportionment Bill could have passed, which would have secured the ascendency of the Democratic party in both branches of the Legislature, and in all Departments of the State Government for the next twenty years.

The Anti-Tammany Democrats, who now question the good faith, the loyalty of Tammany Hall to the party, were not only willing, in the way I have described, to do all in their power to elect a Republican United States Senator, to prevent the passage of a just apportionment Bill, to the end that the Republican party, although largely in the minority at the polls, might, for an indefinite period, secure a majority in both branches of the Legislature; but these Anti-Tammany Democrats did all in their power to disfranchise about three-fourths of the Democratic voters in the large Democratic cities of this State.

In 1875 a Commission was appointed to devise and report a plan for the government of cities. In 1877 that Commission made its Report to the Legislature, recommending certain constitutional amendments, by the adoption of which its plan for governing cities could be carried into effect. Although it contained some good points, mainly of an abstract and negative character, yet, taken as a whole, a worse system of municipal government was never devised by the wit of man. It provided that a Board of Finance should be elected which would virtually constitute the entire city government. For the members of this Board only those could vote who had paid an annual tax of a certain amount, or a certain yearly rent. I can not better express the position which the Democratic party and the Republican party, with their Anti-Tammany allies, occupied with reference to that subject than by citing a portion of the platform unanimously adopted at our County Convention, held in Tammany Hall on the 18th day of October last. After denouncing the great electoral fraud, by which the Republicans stole the Presidency, and after denouncing the Republican majority in two successive Legislatures for not having passed an Apportionment Bill, the platform proceeded as follows:

"Resolved, That not content with thus defrauding over four millions of voters of the right of suffrage in respect to the Presiden-

tial election; not content with nullifying the votes of over half a million of Democrats in the Empire State, with regard to members of the Legislature, the Republican party has thrown off ail disguise and boldly avows the determination to disfranchise two handred thousand voters in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, by limiting the right to vote for most important cit, officers to those who have paid an

am nal tax of a certain amount, or a certain vegely reat.

" Resolved. That imasmuch as all the Republican members of the Senate and Assembly during the last session of the Lagislature voted for, and all the Democratic members, with one exception, voted against the proposed constitutional amendment thus limiting the right of suffrage; inasmuch as the recent Republican State Convention, held at Rochester, in its platform virtually sanctioned and adopted this proposed constitutional amendment; masmuch as it is advocated by the Republican newspapers; imasmach as the Republican party, through its press and otherwise, has openly avowed that the main object in appealing to disaffected Democrats to form an alliance with them, is to elect Republican members, of the Senate and Assembly who will again vote for this proposed constitutional amendment, and for other bills opposed by the Democratic party as represented in the Legislature, and by the Democratic Governor; the Republican party and all who in this europaign ally themselves with that party cannot escape the responsibility of seeking thus to disfranchise two numbered thousand legal voters in New York and Brooklyn.

"Resolved, That as the law new stan as the right to vote for all elective city officers can only be forfeited by a conviction of crime punishable by imprisonment in the State prison, this attempt of the Republican party to place two hundred thousand legal voters in New York and Brookly a on a part with State prison convicts should be reladed at the polls by very citizen who believes in a republican

form of government

Resolved. That the attempt of the Republican party to form a combination with disoffected Democrate, and all who are opposed to the regular Democratic agrazion in this city, is a shallow device to induce Democrats to do the service work of the Republican party, electure Republican tacket and support Republican resources.

All Democrats who farm an alliance with the R publicans in this

compaint case to be Democrats and become Republicans.

First. They sate to elect or aid in the electron of Republican members of the borate and Assambly.

Second Treey vote for and art the election of Republican State Senators who can be to our Republican Unit of States Senator.

Third By voting for and adding in the cloth in of R publican State Send as they vote in by or of securing a Republican in ajority in the State Senate so as to present Governor Regimeon having a Democratic Senate to confirm his roominations for State officers. In the way Republican Heads of D partial at a Republican Harbor Masters, Republican Port Wardens, in short, Republican State officials all over the State, whose terms long since expired, will be kept in office. In other words, those who combine with the Republicans in this campaign with reference to the city, county or State ticket vote to give the Republican party the entire patronage of the State.

Fourth—They vote or aid in the election of Republican Assemblymen and Senators, who, in the Legislature, will oppose and, if possible, prevent the passage of a just Apportionment Bill, to the end that a Republican minority in the State may always succeed in electing a majority in both houses of the Legislature.

Fifth—They vote to disfranchise one hundred and fifty thousand (150,000) Democrats in New York and Brooklyn, so far as voting for the most important city offices be concerned, and in this respect to

place them on a level with State Prison convicts.

Resolved, That from this time until the close of the election, on the 6th day of November next, the Empire State and the Empire City expect all Democrats and all honest citizens to do their duty their whole duty—and thwart the machinations of would-be assassisns of the cause of Democracy, and traitors to a republican constitutional government."

To prevent the disfranchisement of over two-thirds of the Demoeratic voters in cities, by means of which the Democratic cities of the State would have been manacled hand and foot, and handed over to Republicans for all time; to prevent this catastrophe, and preserve the vital principle of a Republican form of government—universal suffrage—the regular Demoeratic party in this city, whose headquarters are at Tammany Hall, fought night and day, in season and out of season, at all times and places, until the close of the polls on the day of election. The Democracy won such a splendid and signal victory, that the Republican party and the small sprinkling of Anti-Tammany Democrats, in the Legislature of 1878, dared not execute the plot against universal suffrage. Let the fact be remembered that this, the regular, the Tammany Hall Democratic organization, stood by the workingmen in the hour of peril and preserved to them the right of suffrage; so that in respect to this invaluable right the poorest man among them stands upon an entire equality with the wealthiest man upon this continent.

This organization, like all others, should be judged by its official action. I would not seek to hold an Anti-Tammany organization responsible for what individual members might, in their individual capacity say or do, especially if their course

was not in harmony with the official action, platform or proceedings of the organization itself. But when our Anti-Tammany friends in Convention or in Committee, take specific action; when as a party or rather as a "combination" they commit themselves to a particular course, they cannot escape the proper responsibility. I have alluded to their antecedents and their present attitude, not in a spirit of unkindness, but simply because, as the Chairman of this organization, I thought it right and proper, in view of the facts and circumstances to which I have referred, that I should defend or rather by its past record prove—its integrity and its legalty to the cause of the Democracy and good government.

While we deem it of the highest importance to secure to the people of this city an economical, efficient and excellent municipal government, we must at the same time concentrate our attention on State and National affairs. Let Democrats see to it that at the close of the polls, on the 5th day of November, the victory of the Democratic parry in this State is signal and complete! Of one thing our foes may rest assured. Whatever course others may take; whether they be true or false to their party and the best interests of the State, this organization, through sunshine and storm, in prosperity and adversity, come what may, under any and all circumstances, will tight to the last, and do all in its power in municipal, State and National affairs, to promote the cause of good government, and the success of the Democratic party.

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